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A STUDY OF THE RITES OF PURIFICATION
IN OVID'S FASTI.

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A T H E S I S

presented in partial fulfilment
of the requirements
for the degree of
M. A.

--oOo--

U n i v e r s i t y o f C a l i f o r n i a

April 22, 1907.



Geneva W. Mower.

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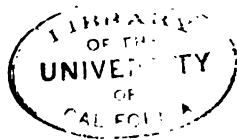
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Introduction.

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In any study of the Roman festivals as described by Ovid in the Fasti, the accuracy of the evidence presented in the poem is the first consideration. The atmosphere of religious ceremonies may be much altered by the personality of their recorder and his purpose in writing. The emperor, Augustus, to whose court Ovid belonged for a time, inaugurated religious as well as political reforms in his effort to restore the spirit of the republican times. He built and repaired temples. (Fasti II 59-63):

"Cetera ne simili caderent labefacta ruina,
cavit sacrati provida cura ducis,
sub quo delubris sentitur nulla senectus:
nec satis est homini, obligat ille deos.
Templorum positur templorum sancte repostor,"

There are further references to the restoration of temples by Augustus in Fasti IV 62-4, IV 949-54. He also restored half-forgotten rites, and appointed priests to vacant offices, such as the Flamen Dialis, the Arval brothers, and the Iuperci. In

the furtherance of his religious revival, he enlisted the services of literary men; Horace, Virgil, Livy, and Ovid. (Emil Aust. Die Religion der Römer p. 91 f.)

So Ovid wrote in accordance with the desire of the emperor, though probably not at his bidding, with the purpose of interesting the Romans in their religion. But his account of the festivals of the Roman calendar is not an exact or scientific treatise on religion.

II 3-8) Nunc primum velis, elegi, ma^oribus itis:
exiguum, memini, nuper erratis opus.
ipse ego vos habui faciles in amore ministros,
cum lusit numeris prima iuventa suis.
idem sacra cano signataque tempora fastis;
ecquis ad haec illinc crederet esse viam?

Fasti III. 2, forsitan ipse roges, quid sit cum Marte postae

III. 833-4, (Minerva) certe dea carminis illa est:

si mereor, studiis adsit amica meis.

He is fond of dwelling on the myths and stories connected with the rites and is at his best in such passages as the story of Lucretia II 685-852, or of Proserpina and Ceres IV 417-618.

He loves the old and the picturesque. Considering this poem, he is an Andrew Lang, though living in a less scientific age than

ours. He speaks as the lover of folk lore when he says,

I. 631 "si quis amas veteres ritus, adsistat precanti."

and IV. 909 "protinus accessi, ritus ne nescius essem".

All the tales that he gathers from the old woman on the street (VI 399-416), or from the Pallignian peasant (IV. 685-690), or learned in his boyhood (VI. 417), he brings together in his narrative, caring seemingly more for the effectiveness of the parts than the consistency of the whole. He will pile up interpretations of a rite as though the correct one were a matter of doubt or indifference. V. 621-662 gives four interpretations of the sacrifice of the Argei. II. 283-380 gives four interpretations of the dress of the Luperci.

Although the poetic treatment results in descriptions of ritual and tales of the gods rather than in abstract statements of beliefs, there are certain fundamental ideas concerning religion which show plainly through the detail of the ritual. This thesis deals with one of these doctrines; namely, the idea of purification. Jane E. Harrison (Prolegomena to the study of Greek Religion) discusses certain rites of the Greek religion which she calls ceremonies of riddance, or aversion, or apotropaic rites, whose purpose was placation of the gods and purgation from impurities or evil influences, "two notions inextricably mixed in

the ancient mind". (p.25.) The purpose of this thesis is to study Roman rites of similar nature in the Fasti, if such should be found. It appears that there are such rites in the Roman worship, and that they gather around the idea in the word purus (see excursus), which describes the normal, undisturbed relation of the worshipper or some object of his interest to the physical, but more particularly to the spiritual, world outside himself. (Granger, F. The Worship of the Romans, ch. "The Primitive Idea of Holiness".) This condition was to be obtained, or preserved as the case might be, by rites by which all influences producing the contrary state were removed. These ^{disturbing} influences or spirits were the object of veneration rather for their power than their goodness. (Granger p. 217), and were either to be propitiated or to be expelled.

Analysis of Rites of Purification.

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The following rites have been selected as purificatory: Carmentalis, Sementiva, Fornacalia, Iupercalia, Feralia (including rites to Tacita), Ancilia, Quinquatrus, rites of Venus Verticordia, Fordicidia, Cerilia, Parilia, Robigalia, Floralia, Lemuria, Tubilustrium, worship of Mercury, rites of Carna, and the cleansing of the temple of Vesta. Other rites were possibly purificatory, but cannot be classed as such from Ovid's account; such as Agonalia, Quirinalia, Matralia, the sacrifice of the Argei, Regifugium, Vestalia, and the worship of Menes.

The following method will be followed:

I. A study of the persons by whom rites of purification were performed.

II. A study of the persons to whom rites of purification were performed.

III. A study of the purposes for which rites of purification were performed.

IV. A study of the times when rites of purification were performed.

V. A study of the places where rites of purification were performed.

VI. A study of the manner in which rites of purification were performed.

Any generalizations or conclusions which are made should be understood as limited to the Fasti.

* * * * *

I The Worshipper.



--oOo--

1. A god sometimes performs rites of purification in behalf of a mortal, to purify him or drive away a harmful spirit from him. In one instance Ceres attempts the purification of Triptolemus from the "humanum onus". (IV 547-555). Compare Vergil Ae. VI 730-742, especially 736.) Carⁿa exorcises the demon birds called striges who have been sucking blood from an infant. (VI.131-168)

2. Some rites are performed for the family by members of the family. They are concerned with the worship of the dead and magic rites directed toward underworld powers. The rites of the Feralia (II 533-570), also called dies parentalia, (548) were doubtless performed by the descendants of the dead who were thus honored, although there is no statement of the fact. The rites of the Lemuria were performed by descendants of the dead and by one who was, or took the place of, the head of the family.

V 426, ... nepos lusta piabat avis.

438, ... redimo neque meosque ...

The magic rites to Tacita, an underworld power, were performed in the home by an old woman in company with girls. (II. 571-582).

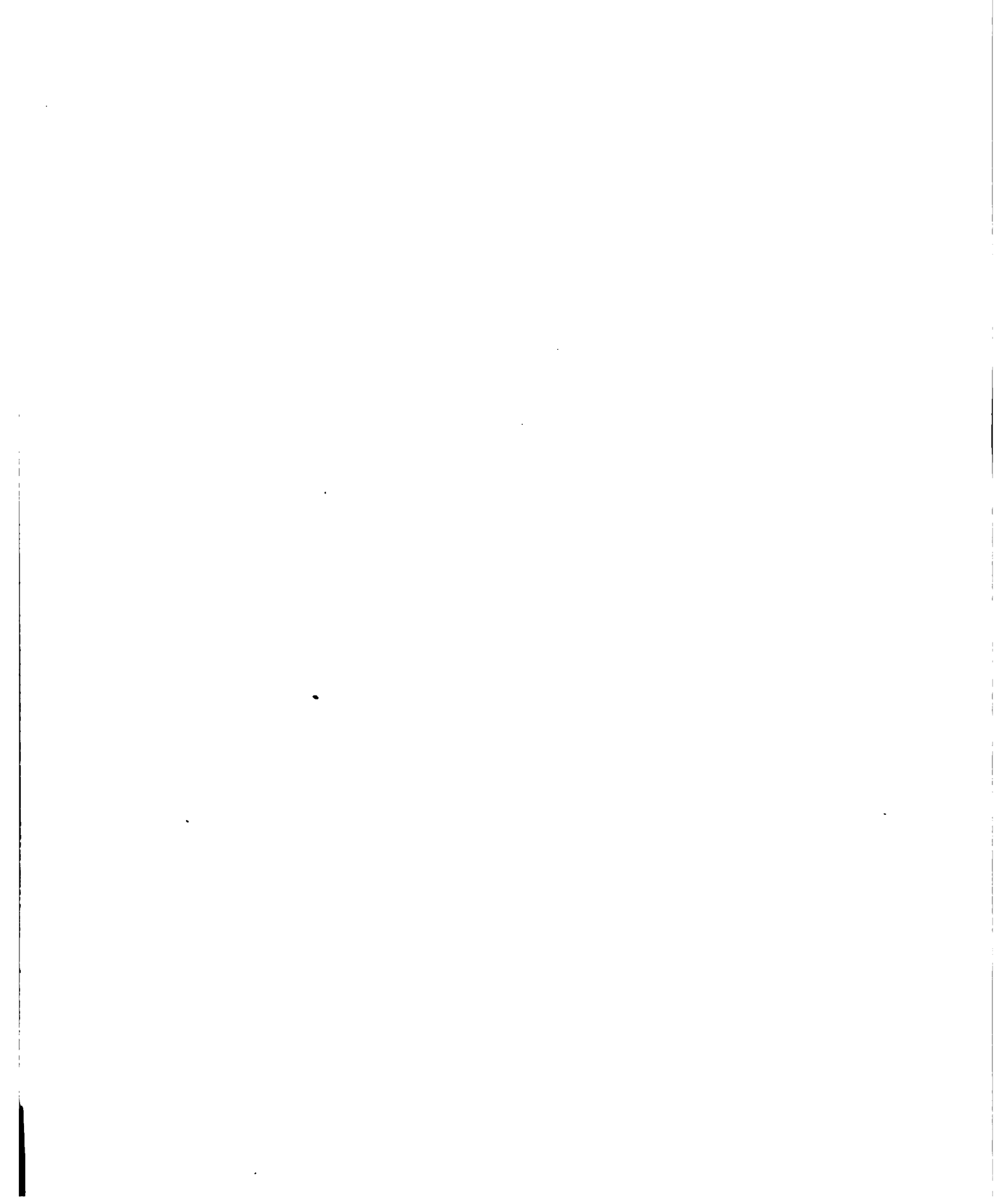
3. The community as a unit held certain festivals appropriate to the community life of an agricultural people. The Sementiva was celebrated by the farmers as a pagus.

I 669, pagus agat festum, pagum lustrate, coloni.

The Fornacalia (II.530-532) and the Fordicidia were conducted by the curiae at Rome. The Parilia was primarily a country festival, but was also celebrated by the city people as a whole. (IV. 731) The Robigalia was attended by a procession, evidently representing the whole community. (candida turba.IV. 906.)

4. Certain festivals were conducted by a particular class of people. Sometimes these were (a) members of certain professions, as the tailors, dyers, shoemakers, doctors, teachers and artists who worshipped Minerva at the Quinquatrus, (III.821-832) or the students who worshipped the same goddess, (III-815) or the mercator who worshipped Mercury (V.675), or the turba meretricia who attended the Floralia. (b) The occupations of the country are represented by the coloni who celebrated the Cerealia (IV. 407), and the pastores who celebrated the Parilia (IV 735). (c) Some festivals were observed only by women. The Camentalis was observed by married women, matres, (I 619) or nuptas (625). Venus Verticordia was worshipped by both the married and unmarried.

IV.133-4, Rite deam Latiae Colitis matresque nurusque
et vos, quis vittae longaue vestis abest.



5. From early times the state worship was directed by a priesthood comprising many orders. These were revived by Augustus with the old ceremonies. The priests may be divided into those belonging to colleges and single priests.

1. The Luperci were the priests who celebrated the Lupercalia. (II.267 and following). They were divided into two colleges, the Fabii and the Quinctili. According to Unger, the first name is connected with februae, to purify, and the second with quinquare, having the same meaning; the priests were selected from these families because of the omen of their names. (G F. Unger, Les Lupercales, Rheinisches Museum Vol.36). Like the Luperci, the Salii, who had charge of the Ancilia, derived their name from their office.

III.387, Iam dederat Saliis a saltu nomina dicta. The pontifices derive their name from pontem facere, for they built the first bridge over the Tiber. Their especial charge was the ritual (Mommsen, History of Rome, Vol. I ch. xii. Bouche Leclercq, Les Pontifes de l'ancienne Rome. chI). The Carmentalia is called "pontificale sacrum" (I462), but was probably conducted by the Pontifex Maximus, representing the college. (Hallam, Ovid's Fasti. Note on I, 462). The pontifices also conducted the Fordicidia (IV 630) and the worship of Cardea (VI 106). The Vestal virgins assisted in rites not belonging to Vesta's worship.

Like the pontifex Maximus, the eldest Vestal assisted at rites which the others did not seem to attend, for example, the Fordicidia and Parilia.

IV 639-640 igne cremat vitulos quae natu maxima virgo,
luce Palis populos purget ut ille ciⁿⁱms.

2. Of the separate priests the flamens took part in rites of purification. The Flamen Dialis assisted the Luperci in the Lupercalia.

II 282, Flamen a~~q~~ haec pisco more Dialis erat.
The Flamen Quirinalis performed the rites to Robigo.

IV, 910. edidit haec flamen verba, Quirine, tuus.
Ovid does not state that the Flaminica Dialis took part in public rites, (unless he implies it in II.25-27), but she was under certain taboos connected with the periods of worship, as at the Aucilia and during the purification of the temple of Vesta.

III, 397-8. His etiam coniunx apicati sancte Dialis
lucibus impexas debet habere comas.

VI. 229-31, non mihi detonsos crines depectere buxo
non unguis ferro subsecuisse licet
non tetigisse virum.

3. Ministri are also mentioned, who seem to have been assistants of the priests. They are mentioned at the Fordicidia and Cerialia.

IV.637-8, ast ubi visceribus vitulas rapuere ministri
sectaque fumosis exta dedere focis.

IV.413, a bove succincti cultos removete, ministri.

The last mentioned may be the coloni of line 407.

By this classification of worshippers an attempt has been made to show one aspect of the development of purificatory rites. The worship in the family is the simplest form and evidently the oldest as well, since the powers propitiated are clearly those of the underworld, and magic is employed. The community worship follows in its different stages, and theoretically an accompanying or following development is the performance of rites by people having a common occupation or status, but the worship of Minerva, at least as described by Ovid, could not have developed until Rome had reached a high stage of civilization. The two stages last mentioned would both contribute to the establishment of a priesthood, of which the priestly colleges were probably the earlier form, for the tendency seemed to be for one of the college to assume the greater part of the duties, as in the case of the pontifex maximus or the virgo maxima natu.

The gods, it has been seen, may themselves perform magic rites and were regarded as the source from which men received their knowledge of them. (The following instances are not confined to rites of purification.) Aristaeus creates a swarm of

bees by a charm learned from Proteus (I.363-380). The manner of purification by means of thongs of goat skin during the Lupercalia was revealed by Juno herself. (II.429-448). Two instances occur in connection with the Ancilia (III.321-330-345). Picus and Fa^urnus, old Italian deities, assisted Numa in performing magic rites which drew Jupiter down from heaven. Jupiter himself reveals to Numa the charm by which lightening can be averted. Fa^urnus reveals to Numa the necessary offering to prevent a failure of crops, (IV 651-672). Ovid perhaps regarded rites performed by the gods as the source or archetype of rites performed by men.

12. The power to whom the rite was performed.
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1. In the earliest stages of religion deities were exorcised who were naturally malignant. There was no idea of reconciliation between the deity and men, but the purpose was simply to expel an evil power which was interfering with normal conditions.

(a) Such deities were often connected with the underworld. The spirits of dead ancestors were propitiated at the Feralia under the names of animas paternas (II 533), manes (535, 570), deos stygios (536), umbras (541, 566), avi (552), and corpora functa (565). They were residents of the underworld (536) and yet seemed to dwell within the tombs, from which they came forth if not propitiated. (551, 552, 565). They exerted a harmful influence,

3

causing pestilence (548-550) and supernatural appearances (prodigia, 551-4). They could be pacified and confined to the tombs by simple rites (535, 541), but did not help men in any way. Hence they were worshipped purely as malignant powers. Spirits of the dead were ^{also} worshipped at the Lemuria, with the additional name of Lemures. (V. 483). They seem more malignant than those propitiated at the Feralia, for the worshippers' attitude is one of fear. The reputed origin of this festival was the rites paid by Romulus to the murdered Remus. The Lemures were the ghosts of those who died similar violent deaths, and hence were believed to be anxious to make others share their fate. This is the explanation of the fear of them which the worshipper felt, but is not, however, given by Ovid. (W.W. Fowler: Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic, p. 107 and following.)

Tacita, or Dea Muta, of Lara (cf. Peter's note on II, 600) was an underworld goddess worshipped at the time of the Feralia. As Ovid tells the story, she was a nymph who had offended Jupiter by her talkativeness and had been deprived of speech and sent to the underworld, (II 585-610). She was identified with the mother of the Lares Compitales (611-616). She had control over gossiping tongues, and her names are descriptive of her character.

The striges whom Car~~ta~~ exercised were evil spirits of chthonic

origin.

VI.131-2, Sunt avidae volucres, non quae Phineia mensis
guttura fraudebant, sedgenus inde trahunt.

Aeneid,III.214-5, ... nec saevior ulla.

pestis et ira deum Stygiis sese extulit undis.

(cf. E. J. Harrison: Prolegomena to the study of Greek religion.
p. 176 foll.)

(b) Deities influencing ^{et} negative processes are natural-
ly propitiated by an agricultural community. Robigo was the
goddess of mildew.

IV. 919-920, si culmos Titan incalfacit udos,

tunc locus est irae, diva timenda, tuae.

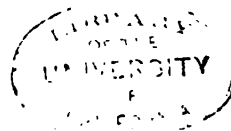
915-916, vis tua non levis est. quae tu frumenta notasti,
maestus in amissis illa colonus habet.

The priest, addressing her as "aspera" (911) prays that
she may not harm the grain.(posse nocere sat est.922). The
rite was intended to drive her away.

IV. 931-2 semperque colonus

absenti possit solvere vota tibi.

2. Other gods who were worshipped with rites of purifi-
cation had a benignant aspect, but became malignant if offended
or neglected. Their worship frequently dated from some occasion
when it was necessary to appease their anger.



(a) Among these deities were gods of the underworld and earth. Tellus or Terra was worshipped at the Sementiva together with Ceres as frugum matres, Tellusque Ceresque (I 671), but here they are not identified although their names are frequently interchanged. Tellus is the earth who furnishes the place where the crops are grown, and Ceres the goddess of fertility who furnished the "causam", probably the power of growth.

I 673-4. Officium commune Ceres et Terra tuentur;

haec praebet causam frugibus, illa locum.

Both goddesses were reckoned among the oldest deities (I.675.) Tellus was also worshipped at the Fordicidia, which Ovid says was instituted by Numa because of repeated failures of crops. (IV. 629-72). Ceres, besides sharing the Sementiva with Tellus, was worshipped at the Cerialia as the teacher of agriculture and goddess of "fruges". (IV.395-404)

The goddess Flora, named from her office, was worshipped at the Floralia. She was naturally beneficent (numen non esse severum, V.333), but had manifested anger in the past when her worship had been neglected by ceasing to protect the flowers from frost and other harm. (V 315-316)

(b) Other deities beside earth gods were worshipped to prevent their anger. Fornax, the goddess of the furnace, worshipped at the Fornacalia, was named, as were most of the Roman gods, from

her office. She protected the grain which was parching from excessive heat. (II.521-526).

Juppiter Elicius was worshipped at the Ancilia as the god of lightening (III.285-290). During Numa's time lightening had done repeated damage, and Numa, aided by Faunus and Picus, brought Juppiter down from heaven by a magic rite to reveal the method of preventing lightening. As Ovid describes it, there is a difficulty here: the lightening is regarded as a sign of Juppiter's anger (III 290), and yet Juppiter does not seem angry while talking with Numa. But Ovid cannot be held down to consistency at all times, and does not treat this story seriously.

It is hard to decide whether Minerva's festival, the Quinquatrus, is purificatory or not, as Ovid describes it. Its name is probably derived from quinquare, to purify. (See excursus). This derivation, whether correct or not, shows at least that the idea of purification was associated with the festival, but Ovid derives the word from quinquæ. The word used in speaking of her worship is placare (III 816-17), which, as has been shown, is usually applied to rites of purification. When not honored she is "invita" (823) and "irata" (826), and hinders the craftsman's work. The only unmistakable rite of purification connected with the Quinquatrus is the Tubilustrium on the last day (III.849).

The purification of the trumpets is appropriate to the "fortis dea".

849-850, Summa dies e quinque tubas lustrare canoras
admonet et forti sacrificare deae.

The Tubilustrum may be the name for the last day of the ceremony, like the festa Stultorum of the Fornacalia (II.513). But the recurrence of the festival (V.726), where it is connected with the worship of Vulcan, the smith who makes trumpets, seems to indicate that it was really a separate festival. Ovid, however, regards the Quinquatrus and the Tubilustrum as one. Perhaps Ovid has combined an earlier and a later conception of the goddess. The dea mille operum (823) who is first invoked shows Minerva in one aspect, while the fortis dea (850) is an earlier conception, at least in that she is here identified with the old Sabine war goddess Nerio. (cf. Peter's note on III.681). The Tubilustrum belongs to the worship of the goddess in the latter aspect.

3. Still other gods were apparently never malignant, and yet rites of purification were associated with their worship. Some of them could evidently be enlisted on the side of men to protect them from the anger of other divine powers or from evil influences. (Fowler p. 301 and following).

The shepherd's' prayer to Pales, the goddess of the flocks, asks that she intercede for him with the rural deities whom he may have offended, and that she ward off sickness and other evils.

IV. 759-60 tu, dea, pro nobis fontes fontanaque placae

numina, tu sparsos per nemus omne deos.

763, pelle procul morbus.

766, neve gemam refere^{re} vellera rapta lupo.

Car^{ta} or Cardea, the goddess of ^hunger, as her name indicates, was also the guardian of the home, and was invoked to drive away evil from it. (VI. 101-102, 129-130, 131-168).

Mercury was invoked by the merchant to prevent Juppiter and the other gods of heaven from hearing and consequently punishing his lies. (V. 681-690).

The temple of Venus Verticordia was built in 114 B.C. in order that the goddess might counteract the evil influences of the times and restore bona fama. (IV 155-160),,but the rites of purification by water and myrtle boughs connected with her worship are much older, for Ovid evidently did not know their meaning. The worship of Venus under the name of Verticordia is parallel to that of Juppiter under the name of Elicius, and again illustrates the meaning of a god from some office or aspect.

The following gods do not readily fall into the above classes. Carmenta was an Arcadian prophetess who came to Italy as an exile

with her son Evander. Her name comes from carmen, song or prophecy. Ovid thinks that the names Porrina and Postverta which occur in the prayer addressed to her are either those of her sisters or of companions in her flight. (I 633-634). They evidently mean one who sees the past and one who sees the future, and are other names of Carmenta, as Patulcius and Clusius are of Janus (I.129-130). She was also regarded as a goddess of birth and guardian of children, and apparently in this capacity was worshipped with rites of purification. (cf. the Lupercalia.) Both the goddess and the ceremonies in her honor seem to have been half forgotten before the revival instituted by Augustus (I.631-2), so we can only guess at their original meaning.

The Lupercalia was thought to be of similar ancient Arcadian origin and was restored by Augustus. (Peter. note on II 267-452). As in the sacrifice of the Argei(V 620-622), the ceremonies of the Lupercalia seem to have survived the memory of the god to whom they were performed. Ovid names Pan or Faunus as the deity propitiated (II 271-306), but modern scholars are against him. Fowler (p. 310, 336), states that the god is unknown. Carlo Pascal (*La divinità infera e i Lupercali*, reviewed by Standing, *Wochenschrift* 1895) calls Lupercus an underworld deity, deriving Lupercus from lupu, an Etruscan word meaning "dead". G. F. ^Unger connect Lupercus with lues, equivalent to parco, and thinks that

it was a name of Mars. Still others think that the worship is a survival of totemism, deriving it from Lupus, as Picus, woodpecker, is the name of another old deity. Peter thinks that the Lupercalia was an old Roman gentile feast of the Fabii and Quintilii in honor of Faunus (favere), a god of productivity. It is apparent that it was the spirit of unproductivity that was exorcised by the februa of goat skin which the Luperci carried.

Vulcan ought to be mentioned here, since the second Tubilustrum is associated with his worship. (V 725-6). Ovid states merely that he is the smith who makes trumpets, but his relation to the worshipper is not told.

The purification of the temple of Vesta seems to be a service performed for the goddess Vesta which has passed over into a ceremonial act. Fowler quotes from Frazer's Golden Bough (II.75) a story of similar ceremonies among the Greek ^IIndians before harvest time.

On the whole, it can be said that the gods worshipped with rites of purification were nearly always great gods in some particular aspect, as Nerio Minerva, Venus Verticordia, or Jupiter Alcius, or else lesser deities of the earth and underworld, as the Manes, Tacita, Robigo, Flora, Pales, and ^{Carna.} ~~Carna.~~ Those not included in the above classes are Ceres or Tellus, an earth goddess, but one of the great deities, Carmentis, -- possibly a goddess of pro-

ductivity and so connected with the earth -- and ~~Folax~~^{Fort} and Mercury. Most of them are the merest sketches with little personality, even as drawn by a poet who was influenced by the Greek conceptions of the gods. They are worshipped either as sources of harm or as powers who can stand between men and evil, if men make the proper bargain with them.

II.3. The Purpose of Purificatory Rites.

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In his introduction to the second book Ovid is drawn by his derivation of Februarius from februa into a discussion of the purpose of purification (II, 19-46). A study of the word "puruſ" (see excursus) shows that the purpose of purification is to bring about the normal condition of things uninfluenced by evil spirits. Ovid instances as things which are purified a house into which death has entered (II, 23), persons about to perform other rites (26) and the city and people at the Lupercalia (32). These examples illustrate two kinds of rites of purification, those performed in preparation for some other religious act (26) and those performed as a purification from evil spirits or contact with death. (32, 23).

Ovid mentions Greek stories of the purification from great crimes (impia facta), but does not himself believe that such guilty persons could be purified (35-46). Fowler (p. 299) gives this explanation of the purpose of purification: "Roman expiatory

rites were applicable only to involuntaryⁿ sins of commission or omission. An offense against the gods (nefas), if willingly committed, was inexpiable. In this case the offender was impius, had willingly failed in his duty, and him no rite could absolve. ... By ordinary offense against the gods we are not to understand sin in the Christian sense of the word. They were rather mistakes in ritual or involuntary omissions, any real or supposed or possible errors in any of a man's relations to the numina around him". (p. 301). "The Romans sought also to avert evil influences before-hand which might possibly emanate from hostile or offended numina". Bouché Leclercq (p. 74 and following) gives practically the same explanation, namely rites to appease an angry god and to expiate accidental offences. To show that an "impie commissum" could not be expiated, he quotes Cic. Leg. II 9, "impius ne audeto placare donis itam deorum".

1. There are illustrations of these general remarks in the rites described by Ovid. The design in the following purificative rites is to drive away a malignant god.

The Feralia is for the purpose of preventing the ghosts from causing ~~the~~ funera and prodigia (described in II 548-554) by confining them to their tombs.

II 555-6. post ea praeteriti tumulis reddunter honores,
prodigiisque venit funeribusque modus."

Another motive for honoring the dead is the feeling of regard for ancestors, pietas. (II.535-546).

The Lemuria is also a laying of ghosts, but, in contrast to the ghosts of the Feralia, they are the spirits of those who have died a violent death and are haunting the house to bring a similar fate on others. Both here (V 438-443) and in the Feralia (II 535-6) the ghosts are paid to remain away.

V 438, His redimo meque meosque fabis.

The purpose of Robigalia is to prevent mildew, or rust, by paying Robigo to stay away.

IV 931-2. . . . Semperque colonus absenti possit
solvere vota tibi.

From another point of view, the sacrifice may be a rite of sympathetic magic, (Irjō Hir²: Origins of Art. p. 279), since it consisted in the sacrifice of a dog probably of a reddish color, and the rust on the grain is red also. (Fowler p. 89). Ovid, however, does not mention the color of the dog and explains that it is sacrificed because Robigo is active during the days of the dog star. (IV 939-942).

The rite used by Carma against the striges is another instance of exorcism or evil spirits (VI 131-168).

The purpose of the Lupercalia may be inferred to be the

exorcism of spirits which prevent fertility. (V 100, II 31-2, 429-447).

At the close of the Cerialia occurs a fox hunt in the circus which was probably another act of sympathetic magic. The red foxes probably represented Robigo, an enemy of Ceres, and the hunting of them the driving away of Robigo, who was especially feared at that time. (Peter's note on IV 679-712).

The rites to Tacita were performed against slanderers and gossips. There is a trace of sympathetic magic in them, for during the rite the mouth of a fish was sewed up. This rite is different from others in that its purpose is really to invoke the aid of an evil power, not to drive it away. It illustrates Miss Harrison's statement (p 9-10) that powers of the underworld were worshipped as the senders of evil.

The purpose is slightly more complex when the object is to obtain the aid of a god against evil or offended powers, or against the harmful forces of nature. The god becomes a mediator. The Parilia is perhaps the best example. The shepherd entreats Pales to protect him.

IV 748 effugiat stabulis noxa repulsa meis.

763 pelle procul morbus.

759 - 760. tu, dea, pro nobis fontes fontanaque placanumina, tu sparsos per nemus omne deos.

2. The following instances illustrate the effort "to avert evil influences beforehand which might emanate from an angry god". Many of these originated in the propitiation of the gods' anger, and were kept up to prevent its recurrence. In these examples there is sometimes room for question whether the evil influences to be averted are the result of a malignant aspect of the god, or of independent evil powers that the god is entreated to hold in check.

(a) Many such rites are connected with agriculture.

In the Sementiva, or sowing festival, Ceres and Tellus are worshipped in order that the crops may be unharmed by bad weather, disease, birds, or weeds, which are presumably the expression of the goddess' wrath. (I 671-694).

The Fordicidia was performed later in the season, in April, for the same purpose of preventing the failure of crops from similar causes by sympathetic magic.

IV 671-2. *exta bovis gravidae dantur. fecundior annus
provenit, et fructum terra pecusque ferunt.*

The Ceralia was a similar propitiation of the earth. (IV 407-412) in order that crops might be successful. (IV 407-414). Flora was worshipped in order that she might protect the flowers. (V 275-329).

325-6. *nec volui fieri nec sum crudelis in ira,
cura repellendi sed mihi nulla fuit.*

The Fornⁿⁿacalia was a propitiation of the goddess Fornax so that she would not burn the grain while it was parching (II 521-525), as she had done before she was worshipped.

(b) Other rites to appease an angry god are not connected with agriculture.

The Quinquatrus propitiated Minerva so that she would not hinder, but aid the work of craftsmen.

III 823-824. nec quisquam invita faciet bene vincula
plantⁿae Pallade, ...

If the derivation of Quinquatrus from quinquare (see excursus) is correct, there was probably a more specific purificatory meaning in the rite which had been lost before Ovid's time.

The Ancilia aimed to propitiate Juppiter in his malignant aspect as the god of lightening and rain.

III 289-290, ... "piabile fulmen

est", ait, "et saevi flectitur ira Iovis".

The processions of the Salii through the city were probably regarded as purificatory. (Ernest Pfuhl. de Atheniensium pompis sacris pp. 21, 38, 84, 91.)

3. Some rites emphasize the expiation of involuntary offences. The worshipper of the Paribia asks pardon if he has ignorantly sat under a sacred tree (IV 749), or entered a sacred grove, or if he or his flock have^s touched any sacred object

(IV 749-758), and he prays that he may not unintentionally^{on} see any of the rural deities who do not wish to be seen. (IV 761-762). The idea of a bargain is evident here as elsewhere.

IV 775-776. quae precor, eveniant et nos faciamus ad annum
pastorum dominae grandia liba Pali.

4. Other rites of purification take the nature of ceremonial cleansing, perhaps through a loss of their earlier meaning. The cleansing of the temple of Vesta is an example.

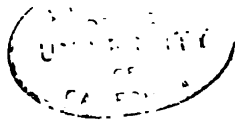
VI 227-228. Donec ab Il~~l~~iaca placidus purgamina Vesta
detulerit flavis in mare Thybris aquis.

234 Ignea cum pura Vesta nitebit humo.

The Tubilustria probably have a similar purpose. The significance of the Tubilustrum in connection with the worship of Minerva (III 849-850) and that in connection with the worship of Vulcan is not clear, except that Minerva as a war goddess and Vulcan as a smith were naturally associated with trumpets, and that the washing of sacred utensils is common (III 12, IV 340).

The bathing of the worshippers of Venus Verticordia is another instance of ceremonial cleansing rather than a commemorative rite, as Ovid says, (IV 141-144). The use of myrtle and water, both common purgamina, point to a deeper purificatory meaning than appears in Ovid's account.

5. The magic rite by which Ceres desires to purify Tripto-



lemus is unique in that Ceres wishes to restore the divine purity of the spirit, while other rites aim to restore normal human conditions.

IV 554. humanum purget ut ignis onus.

If I understand it correctly, the passage is parallel to the following lines from the Aeneid:

VI 730-2, Igneus est ollis vigor et caelestis origo
seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant
terrenique hebitant artus moribus^Tdaque membra.

735-737, Quin et supremo cum lumine vita reliquit,
non tamen omne malum miseris nec funditus omnes
corporeae excedunt pestes.

739-742, Ergo exercentur poenis, veterumque malorum
supplicia expedunt: aliae panduntur inanis
suspensae ad ventos; aliis sub gurgite vasto
infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni.

6. In spite of Ovid's statement that crimes intentionally committed could not be expiated, there are some instances in which expiation of crime seems to be the purpose of the rite. The Carmentalia is described as a rite of expiation by the Roman matrons. It is doubtful, however, whether this is the real origin of the worship, which Ovid regards as ancient and obscure. The merchant who performs rites to Mercury prays for pardon for his lies:

V 681, Ablue praeteriti periuria temporis.

685 - 688 sive deum prudens alium divamque fefelli,

abstulerint celeres improba verba noti.

et pateant veniente die periuria nobis,

nec curent superi, si qua locutus ero.

690-2, Talia Mercurius poscentem ridebat alto

se memor Ortygias surripuisse boves.

The proceeding here is evidently irregular. Ovid is indulging in a little fun and cannot be held to strict consistency.

7. Commemorative rites. According to Ovid the commemoration of acts or habits of the gods or of incidents in legends or history is the explanation of many rites. It is natural, when the meaning of ceremonies is partly forgotten, that stories should spring up to explain them. Often the explanation is obviously false, as the attributing the use of fire as a purgamen in the rite of Pales to the fact that shepherds discovered fire. Many of these legends are seemingly introduced for the poetic effect, especially when several explanations are given of one rite.

(a) Certain articles of food are eaten because the god ate them. Beans, bacon, and spelt were eaten in honor of Carna.

VI 169-171. Pinguia cui illis gustentur larda kalendis

mixtaque cum calido sit fabe farre, rogas?

Prisca dea est aliturque cibus quibus ante solebat

Part of the ceremony in honor of Venus Verticordia was the drinking of poppy juice, milk and honey, which Venus drank on her marriage day. (IV 151-154).

The following customs are explained as commemorative of incidents in the lives of the gods. On the first day of the Quinquatrus combats were forbidden because it was Minerva's birthday. (III 811-812). The worshippers of Venus Verticordia bathed and wore sprays of myrtle in remembrance of an occasion when Venus, seen by satyrs while bathing, hid under a myrtle bush.

(IV 140-144). The dress of the Luperci is explained by reference to the custom of Fœbus. (II 285-288, 303, 355).

(b) Other customs in connection with purificatory rites are referred to myths. The use of fire and water as purgamina at the Parilia is explained by four stories, none of which gives the true interpretation of their use. First, as Ovid says, the fire may symbolize the story of Phaeton and the water that of Deucalion. (IV 793-794), or it may commemorate the discovery of fire by shepherds, who worshipped Pales (995-998), or Aeneas passing through the fire at Troy (799-800), or the burning of old homes at the founding of Rome, which took place on the Parilia (IV 801-806). Ovid uses the last story as an excuse for a long account of the founding of Rome, showing his preference for narrative.

805. Ipse locus causas vati facit ubi origo venit.

The dress of the Luperci is attributed to the customs of the Arcadians who first worshipped Pan (II 289-302) and to a legend of Romulus and Remus (II 359-380). The last story also accounts for the running and the sacrifice of goats which formed part of the ceremony.

The fox hunt with which the Cerialia closes is a reminiscence of a Paelignian legend similar to the story of Samson and the foxes. (IV 681-712).

The cry of Mamors or Mamurius in the Ancilia is accounted for by an eponymous Mamurius, who made the duplicate of the shield which fell from heaven, and asked as a reward that his name should be preserved in the songs of the Salii. (III 383-392).

(c) Other rites are commemorative in that they are repetitions of a purificatory rite first performed to meet the needs of a particular occasion.

The Carmentalia is a continuation of rites of expiation for a crime that the Roman matrons had committed. (I 619-628).

The Ancilia was instituted by Numa when Juppiter had manifested his anger by lightning. (III 285-385).

The Fordicidia was instituted by Numa at a time when the crops had failed repeatedly. (IV 639-672.)

The Lemuria was instituted by Romulus to appease the ghost

of his brother Remus, who appeared to him in a dream. (V 451-484).

The Floralia was a continuation of a festival actually established in historical times. (V 277-330) (cf. Peter's note on V 287).

The Feralia was the outgrowth of the annual honors which Aeneas paid to Anchises.

The use of februa of goat-skin in the Lupercalia is attributed to an occasion when Juno commanded it. (II 425-450).

The sacrifice of certain animals is commemorative of occasions when they were slain at the order of a god. The ox was sacrificed because of the legend of Aristaeus (I 363-380), and the hind because of the legend of Iphigenia. (I 387-388). The sheep (I 381-382) and the ass (I 391-440) were slain because they offended the gods.

IV. The Time of the Occurrence of the Festival.

I. Annual Festivals.

Nearly all of the festivals occurred annually, but some occupied several days and others but one. Most festivals occurred on a given date, like our Fourth of July, but a few were proclaimed, like Thanksgiving.

1. Sacra lasting more than one day.

(a) Stata sacra.

1. Carmentalia. I 617, 461, 317, 627-8.

The Carmentalia was celebrated on two days, January 11 and 15, as appears from the cited passages.

2. Feralia II 567-70. The duration of this festival is uncertain, but it ended on February 18 (or 21), to which the name dies Feralia was especially applied. The rites to Tacita were performed on this day.

3. Ancilia III 260,399. The Ancilia began on the Kalends of March and nothing is said about its duration. That it lasted several days appears from 397-8.

His etiam coniunx apicati sancti Dialis

lucibus impexas debet habere comas. There were other restrictions which seem to apply to several days.

4. Quinquatrus. III 809-810. This festival in honor of Minerva lasted from March 19 to March 23; Ovid derives Quinquatrus from the quinque dies of the festival. The last day was called the Tubilustrum.

5. Cerialia. IV 393, 679. This festival lasted from April 12 to April 19. The last day was marked by a fox hunt in the circus.

6. Floralia. IV 945-7, V 183. The Floralia lasted from April ²⁸ to May 3.

7. Lemuria. V 491-2; 415-16. The ninth, eleventh and the thirteenth of May were given to the worship of the lemures.

8. Purification of the temple of Vesta. VI 223-5, 619-20. Mention is made of but one day, on which the cleansing of the

temple was completed, but the days preceeding were also holy, for marriages on those days were unlucky.

(b) Non stata sacra lasting more than one day.

1. ~~Form~~acalia II 513, 528. This festival was observed by each curia in accordance with the proclamation of its curio. Those who did not know to which curia they belonged offered sacrifice on the last day, February 17.

2. -- Rites lasting one day.

(a) Stata sacra.

1. Lupercalia. II 267. February 15.
2. Rites in honor of Venus Verticordia. IV 133. April 1.
3. Fordicidia. IV 629. April 15.
4. Parilia. IV 713, 721. April 21.
5. Robigalia. IV 905. April 25.
6. Festival of Mercury. V 669-670. May 15.
7. Festival of Carna. VI 101. June 1.

-- (b) Non state sacra.

Sementiva. I 658-662, January. This festival was proclaimed after the sowing of grain was completed.

There was a natural tendency for Roman festivals to spread out over several consecutive days. Sometimes the first days seem to be a preparation for the final day's ceremony, analogous to our week before Easter; for example, the Feralia, Quinquatrus,

Cerialia, and cleansing of the temple of Vesta. The Carmentalia and the Lemuria, both very ancient festivals, are peculiar in that the days of worship are separated by a few days on which rites were not performed. Perhaps these festal days are the summits of ancient festivals which have almost sunk into oblivion. It could not be maintained that all rites were originally of several days duration, but some which apparently occupy isolated days may in reality be fragments of a greater festival or religious season comparable to our Lent. For example, in the twenty-two days between April 12 and May 3 occur the following agricultural festivals, the Cerialia, lasting nine days, the Floralia, lasting six days, and the Fordicidia, Parlia, and Robigalia, lasting one day each, a total of sixteen days, allowing for overlappings. So the last three festivals are not properly speaking isolated. Compare our Christmas holidays which formerly lasted until Twelfth Night, but have now shrunk to Christmas and New Years.

II. Festivals occurring more than once a year.

There are several festivals that occur at intervals of less than a year, such as the Kalends or the Agonia. The only rite of purification in this class is the Tubilustrum, occurring on March 23 (III 809-849), and on May 23 (V 725-6). Other festivals may have been repeated during the six months which are not con-

tained in the Fasti.

III. Some historic rites of purification were performed but once, to meet some emergency. Such as the attempted sacrifice of Phrixus and Helle (III 853-876), the rite performed by Ceres over the child Triptolemus (IV 547-560), and the rite performed by Carina to drive away the striges. (IV 143-168).

V. The Places Where the Festivals Were Held.

I. The place where the ceremonies were conducted was often a temple.

1. Carmentalia. The place is not defined by Ovid farther than calling it sacellum (I 629.) There was a fanum Carmentis by the Porta Carmentalia below the Capitoline Hill. (Hermann Peter P. Ovidi Nasonis Fastorum Libri Sex -- note on I 461.)

2. Fordicidia. The sacrifice took place in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, and in the thirty curiae (IV 635.)

3. The rites of Venus Verticordia were held in the temple of Venus Verticordia. (IV 159-160).

4. The Parilia was observed in the city at the temple of Vesta. (IV 731.)

5. The purification of the temple of Vesta (VI 234).

II. Festivals were held in the theatre or circus.

1. At the Quinquatrus games were celebrated in the arena (III 813).

2. The closing ceremony of the Cerualia took place in

the circus. (IV 680-1.)

3. The Floralia was celebrated by games in both the circus and the theatre. (V 189-190).

III. Altars were erected out of doors in places sacred to the god or inhabited by him.

1. The Sementiva was celebrated at the farm and village altars. (I 669-~~670~~).

2. Lupercalia. Part of the ceremonies of the Lupercalia took place at the fig tree of Romulus. (II 381-422).

3. The Feralia was held at the tombs of the dead along the roadway. (II 583-4; 555, 540). The ghosts lived in the tombs and wandered from them when they appeared to men.

II 565. corpora functa sepulcris errant.

4. Pales, the guardian of the sheep, was worshipped on the farm. (IV 735-782).

5. Robigo was propitiated in a sacred grove outside Rome. (IV 905-907).

6. Carna was also worshipped in a grove.

VI 105. Adiacet antiquus Tiberini fudus Helerni

pontifices illuc nunc quæque sacra ferunt.

IV. Rites were performed in places from which people wished to expel an evil influence.

1. Lupercalia. V 101-2. Part of the ceremony of the

Lupercalia was the purification of the city by the priesta who ran through the streets.

2. The rites to Tacita were performed in the home which they desired to free from slander and gossip. (II 571, 573, 582).

3. During the Ancilia the city was purified by the procession of the Salii. (III 259.)

4. During the Parilia green branches were hung up over the entrances of the sheep folds to keep out harmful influences.

5. At the Lemuria the ghosts were driven from the house V 429-432, 443. "Manes exite paterⁿi".

6. When Carua exorcises the striges (VI 155-166), she touches the door sill with arbutus and water and places a branch of white thorn at the window. She offers the sacrifice of a pig outside the house perhaps to draw the striges away from it.

VI The Manner of Performing Rites of Purification.

"Ritual", says Andrew Lang, (Custom and Myth p. 241) has an immense scientific interest. It holds on with the tenacity of superstition, to all that has ever been practiced. "Much of the ritual of rites of purification is a relic of a distant period, for as a group, the rites of purification are very ancient. The Carmentalia is called "veteres ritus" (I 631-632)

and the Lupercalia was conducted "prisco more" by the Flamen
Dialis (II 282), and the dress of the Luperci is an ancient
custom. II 302-303 nunc quo quo detecti referunt monumenta
vetusti moris et antiquas testificantur apes.

(compare also II 271, 289, 292, 304). The Feralia was institu-
ted by Aeneas, the Lemuria by Romu¹pus, and Fordicidia and Ancilia
by Numa. Cardea ("a prisca dea" VI 680-720), Par¹ilia (IV 721-805),
and Robig²onia (IV 907) are among the older gods, and the rites
by which they were worshipped were doubtless also old. On the
other hand, the Fornacalia, Quinqu⁴trus, and the worship of Mer-
cury belong to a later stage of civilization, and the Floralia
(cf. Peter's note on V 287), and the worship of Venus Verticordia
(cf. Peter's note on IV 157-160 and Fowler p. 343.) date their
final establishment from a comparatively late historical period.

(This subject of ritual includes so many details that it
is best to make some subdivisions, indicating primarily the
different means by which purification was attained. These are
indicated by Arabic figures.)

1. Propitiation by offerings to the gods.

(a) Animals.

"Animals," according to Andrew Lang (Myth, Ritual, and
Religion, II p. 254), "as the old commentator on Virgil remarks,

were sacrificed to the various gods" *aut per similitudinem aut per contrarietatem*." This division applies well to the animals which Ovid names in his discussion of the origin of animal sacrifice (I 349-456), except in the instance where Ovid indulges his fondness for interpreting rites as commemorative. Among the animals that are sacrificed "*per similitudinem*", he instances the horse sacrificed by the Persians to Hyperion.

I 386, "*ne datur celeri victima tarda deo*".

Among the animals sacrificed "*per contrarietatem*" is the pig offered to Ceres (I 349-354). The antagonism of the god and the animal makes the sacrifice acceptable. Purely commemorative, according to Ovid, are the sacrifices of bulls, once offered by Aristaenus (362-380), and of hinds, since that animal was substituted for Iphigenia (387-388). Ovid's chief explanation is that animals who offend the gods must be sacrificed to atone for their faults. If, however, we accept the theory of sacrifice *per similitudinem aut per contrarietatem*, it can be applied to nearly every instance of animal sacrifice in the *Fasti*.

The pig is sacrificed to Ceres in the *Sementiva* (I 672) and in the *Cerialia* (IV 413). Ovid explains the desire of Ceres for this victim on two grounds; first, that the pigs root up the growing plants (I 349-353), and that pigs obliterated Proserpina's

footprints and so hindered Ceres in her search for her. (IV 465-466). R. P. Knight (The Symbolical Language of Ancient Art p. 86-88) explains the pig as the symbol of the forces of nature which are destructive and hinder growth, hence apposed to Ceres. The pig is also sacrificed in the rite which Carina performs to drive the striges away. If the above classification of sacrificial animals were to be applied, this would be an instance of sacrifice per similitudinem. Ovid's explanation, however, is perhaps more probable. The pig is a substitute offered for an infant, as the hind that was sacrificed for Iphigenia, or the ram that was offered instead of Isaac.

VI. 160. pro parvo victima parva cadit.

The goat was sacrificed at the Lupercalia and its skin used as a fertility charm. If Peter is right in considering the festival to be in honor of ~~Faunus~~^{Faunus}, this is an instance of sacrifice per similitudinem. (cf. Knight, and Gubernatis, Zoological Mythology).

The Fordicidia (IV 630-635) took its name from the bos fordæ that was sacrificed then to Tellus as an appropriate victim at that season. Like other ceremonies already noted, this seems an instance of sympathetic magic.

At the Robigalia a dog and a sheep were sacrificed. (IV 908).

If the dog was red (Fowler p. 89), this is again a sacrifice per similitudinem. Ovid's explanation is that Robigo is especially active during the days of the dog-star. The offering of the shepp is not explained.

(b) Offerings of meal were made at the Sementiva (farre suo I 672), at the Feralia (sparsae farges II 538 , in mero mollita Ceres II 539), at the Cerialia (farra IV 409), and at the Parilia (mili fiscella IV 743). At the Feralia the Manes partook of the offerings.

II 566. positⁱ_As pascitur umbra cibo.

So probably does Pales.

IV 744 rustica praecipue est hoc dea laeta cibo.

Emil Aust (Die Religion der Römer p. 1), says that the food of the common people, spelt far tostum, libum farreum, mola salsa, and puls, was the first offering to the gods.

(c) Salt is added to the meal at the Feralia (II 538) and at the Cerialia (IV 409).

(d) Wine was offered at the Feralia (II 539), at the Robigalia (IV 934), and in the rites to Tacita (II 579).

(e) Milk was an appropriate offering to Pales, the guardian of the flocks. Peter (Note on IV 746) quotes a parallel passage from Tibullus I, 1, 35 to show that the statue

of Pales was sprinkled with milk.

(f) Incense was burned in honor of Ceres (IV 410), Venus (IV 150), and Robigo (IV 934), and in the invocation of Tacita three grains of incense were placed under the threshold.

(g) Flowers were offered to Venus (IV 138) and to the dead. (II 539, 537).

(h) Beans were offered to the Lemures.

V 436-440. nigras accipit ante fabas
averusque iacit, sed dum iacit, "Haec ego mitto,
his" inquit "redimo meque meosque fabis!"
hoc novies dicit nec respicit. umbra putatur
colligere et nullo terga vidente sequi.

The old woman who performed the rites to Tacita placed seven black beans in her mouth (II 576). Granger (p. 70) says that beans were used in sacrifices to the dead because the souls of the dead had entered them through the flowers, whose petals bore litterae lugubres. Hence beans were considered strengthening food. If the beans contained souls, the idea of substitute offering implied in redimo is clear. Fowler (p. 110) says that beans were a very ancient vegetable and probably a symbol of fertility, and that the ghosts may have eaten them in hopes of getting a new life. This seems much more doubtful than the other interpretation. Since beans were an ancient article

of food, and as such were offered to the gods (Emil Aust. Die Religion der Römer p. 44), it is natural that they should have acquired magical properties and should be used in ancient ceremonies.

(i) According to the legend of the institution of the Ancilia, Numa made a substitute offering to Jupiter for a human life, which consisted of the head of an onion, a lock of hair, and a fish. (III 339-342). There is nothing in the poem to show that this offering was repeated annually, but it is interesting as showing the acceptance of the idea of substitution.

(j) Often the worshipper ate certain articles as a part of the ceremony. The old woman who performed the rites to Tacita drank the wine that was left from the offering. (II 580). The shepherd drank milk and must at the Parilia after he had offered milk to the goddess. (IV 741, 760). The worshipper of Carna (VI 169-171) ate bacon, beans and spelt, because

prisca dea est, aliturque cibis quibus ante solebat.

It seems implied that these articles were also offered to Carna as the goddess of the "Caro". Wine was drunk at the Floralia (V 337, 359) because "Bacchus amat flores" (V 345). The worshipper of Venus Verticordia drank milk, poppy juice, and honey (IV 151-153), because

cum primum cupido Venus est deducta marito

hoc bibit.

Probably the mixture was offered to the goddess also. As Ovid describes these acts, the motive seems to be that of honoring the gods by eating foods that are appropriate to them, but probably there were other motives in most instances, as, forexample, the food eaten at the festival of Carnea was supposed to ward off sickness^{for} the rest of the year. (VI 181-182).

Ovid often remarks that offerings need not be large and expensive. They may be "parva munera" (II 534, 538), "parva, sint modo casta" (IV 412), "munera pauca" (III 828). This probably indicates that they were purely ceremonial, and that it was sufficient to satisfy the letter of the directions for sacrifice, just as only three handfuls of earth was enough to constitute ceremonial burial among the Greeks.

2. Prayers were probably part of each ceremony. The God was sometimes invoked by a name expressive of his nature, as aspera Robigo (IV 911), alma Pales (IV 723), Porrima and Postverta, names of Carmenta (I 633), and probably Mamur^{us}~~ius~~, the cry of the Salii (III 260). Ovid implies that set prayers and for^m_ulas were used. In reference to the Feralia he says

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II 542 adde preces positas et sua verba focis.

The songs of the Salii date from the time of Numa, who; Ovid says,

III 388 dederat ad certos verba canenda modos.

In rites that savor of magic, spells and invocations were used. Ceres utters "tria earmina" (IV 551). Carina says

"cor pro corde precor, pro fibris sumite fibras.

hanc animam vobis pro meliore damus."

The ghost-layer who performs the rites of the Lemuria (V 438,443) must say

"Haec ego mitto, his redino meque meosque fabis,"

as he throws the beans over his shoulder, and "Manes exite paterni", at the conclusion of the rites. The merchant's prayer to Mercury (V 681-692) sounds like a formula,-

V 681-2. "Abiue praeteriti temporis periuria,

abiue praeteritae perfida verba die."

Besides these instances prayer is also mentioned as part of the ceremony at the Sementiva (I 677-692), Forn^{na}alia (II 526), Feralia (II 542), Quinquatrus (III 815-834), and at the worship of Venus Verticordia (IV 155).

3. Sometimes the dress of the worshipper was prescribed. White garments probably signified and purity and were worn

at the Robigalia (candida turba, IV 906) and at the Cerialia.

IV 619-620. Alba decent Cererum: vestis Cerialibus albas
sumite.

Ovid's explanation is "quia maturis albescit messis aristis".

(V 357) Colored garments were worn at the Floralia (V 358),
because

"et color et species floribus omnis inest."

The Luperci wore the skins of the goats that had been sacrificed.
Fowler (p.318) interprets this as signifying that the worshipper
enters into the life of the deity. Lang (Myth, Ritual, and Re-
ligion p. 129-130) gives examples of similar customs, and guesses
that it may be a propitiation of the sacred animal at his death.
The worshipper at the Lemuria is barefoot.

V 432. habent gemini vincula nulla pedes.

The worshipper of Flora wore garlands (V 335-341).

4. Certain gestures and attitudes were part of the rit-
ual. The worshipper at the Lemuria throws behind his back
the beans that he offers the ghosts (V 436-437) and does not
look around during the rite. (V439, 444). Cardea forbids the
bystanders to look back when she makes the offering to the
striges, who probably came to it. Granger (p. 71) says that
ghosts did not wish to be seen and also gained power over the

living who saw them; hence the torch was applied to the funeral pyre with averted eyes. [Aeneid VI 224). Either explanation might conceivably apply to the command not to look at the striges. The striges may have shunned the eyes of men like the rural gods,

IV 751-752 nostrisve fugatae

sunt oculis nymphae semicaperque deus.

Or they may have acquired an influence over those who saw them. Since they seemed to prey only on children, the first explanation seems preferable. The worshipper of Pales prayed facing the east. (IV 777). Ceres stroked Triptolemus three times (IV 551), probably to convey divine strength to him. (Compare superstition of the King's touch).

5. The exorcist of the Lemuræ, like the Chinese, thought that noise was necessary to drive evil spirits away. He snapped his fingers while performing the rite.

V 433-434. signaque dat digitis medio cum pollice iuncta
 occurrat tacito ne levis umbra sibi.

Granger mentions a parallel Hindu idea that the snapping of the fingers in ten directions secures immunity from evil spirits. It seems likely that the origin was a desire to break the stillness and thus lessen the awfulness of the hour, which passed

over into a belief that the sound kept the ghosts back. At the conclusion of the rite the ghosts are driven out with more noise.

V 441-442. ... Temesaeaque concrepat aera
et rogat, ut tectis exeat umbra suis.

6. Some festivals were celebrated by spectacles in the circus and theatre. Minerva was worshipped by combats ^{The Cerialia was celebrated by horse races in the circus (IV 391-392),} in the arena during the Quinquatrus (III 813-814) and by a fox hunt on the last day, which, as has been seen, was probably a dramatic representation of the driving out of Robigo, -an instance of sympathetic magic. The Floralia is almost a parallel. Her festival was celebrated in the theatre and circus, and roes and hares were hunted in the circus. (V 371-374). Here again the enemies of the goddess are hunted down, probably with the idea of injuring all of the species by injuring some of them.

7. Certain numbers have always had a magical efficacy in ritual. In the Fasti, prayers and rites of purification, such as sprinkling with water, were repeated two, three, or four times. The number of the offerings was also prescribed.

(a) The number two occurs in Numa's preparations for communication with the gods in sleep (incubatio).

IV 653-654. bis caput intonsum fontana spargitur aqua,
bis sua faginea tempore fronte premit.

(b) Three.

II 573. et digitis tria tura tribus sub-limine ponit.

This is a part of the magic rite to Tacita.

IV 727. transilui positas ter in ordine flammis.

This refers to the Parilia.

IV 315. ter caput iurorat, ter tollit in aethera palmas.

IV 551. terque manu permulsit eum, tria carmina dixit.

IV 155-156. arbutea postes ter in ordine tangit

fronde, ter arbutea limina fronde notat.

Nine, the square of three has also magic power. The prayer at the Lemuria was uttered nine times. (V 438, 443).

(c) Four.

The prayer at the Parilia was said four times. (IV 777, 778).

(d) Five.

The Quinquatrus lasted five days. (III 849).

(e) Seven.

There are surprisingly few instances of seven in the ritual of the Fasti, considering its place in our own folk lore.

II 576. septem nigras fabas.

8. The taboos or prohibitions enforced in connection with festivals have an important bearing on rites of purification.



They seem to be survivals of an idea very common in early religion, namely that certain objects could not be touched without risk of harm from the spirits. This idea developed naturally into the prohibition of certain acts at certain times or places. As Granger implies, (¶p. 201-202) taboos tend to grow less as civilization advances, and in Ovid's time they were largely confined to the priests, especially the Flamen and Flaminica Dialis.

The taboos relating to the Flaminica Dialis concern personal habits, and their bearing on worship is left unexplained in the Fasti. They were in force during the Ancilia (III 397-398) and during the period ending with the purification of the temple of Vesta. (VI 229-231).

III 397-398. His etiam coniunx apicati sancta Dialis
lucibus impexas debet habere comas.

VI 229- 231. Non mihi detonsos crines depectere buxo
non unguis ferro subsecuisse licet
non tetigisse virum.

There are more taboos mentioned in the second instance than in the first, but probably they were the same. and Ovid, with a poet's freedom, intends by mentioning one to suggest the accompanying prohibitions.

Numa observed the following taboos in preparation for his

incubatio.:

IV 657-658. usus abest Veneris, nec fas animalia mensis
ponere, nec digitis annulus ullus inest.

The taboos relating to laymen seemed to be based on the pollution which the touch of dead objects conveyed. Two classes of taboos grew out of this idea.

(a) Certain things suggestive of death were tabooed in connection with worship. Hence leather was not allowed in the temple of Carmenta.

I 629-630. Scortea non illi fas est inferre sacello
ne violent puros exanimata focos.

The contrast of "puros" and "exanimata" sustains the proposition that dead things were not "puros".

Possibly the prohibition of combats on the first day of the Quinquatrus had the same significance.

III 811. Sanguine prima vacat, nec fas concurrere ferro.

(b) Rites connected with death or the underworld sometimes interfered with ordinary life or other religious ceremonies.

1. Marriages were prohibited or unlucky during the following festivals.

The Feralia, II 557-562.

II 561-562. Conde tuas, Hymanaeae, faces et ab ignibus atris

aufer! habent alias maesta sepulchra faces.

The Lemuria. V 487-490.

V 487-8. nec viduae taedas eadem nec virginia apta
tempore.

The cleansing of the temple of Vesta.

V 225. primaque pars huius thalamis aliena reperta est.

The Ancilia III 393-396. The reason "pugna est aliena marit-
tis" suggests another interpretation, which, if intended by Ovid,
is merely whimsical.

2. Rites of other gods were prohibited during the Feralia
and the Lemuria.

II 563-565, di quoque templorum foribus celentur opertis
ture vacent arae, stentque sine igne foci.
nunc animae tenues et corpora functa sepulchris
errant.

V 485-486. Fana tamen veteres illis clausere diebus,
et nunc ferali tempore operta vides.

The taboos are comparatively insignificant in the Fasti,
but they doubtless belong to one of the earliest strata of Roman
religion, and throw light on the conception of purus.

9. The belief in taboos necessitated a belief in purgamina
that could purify a man who had failed to observe any of them.

Probably the earliest conception of the condition which was not purus was the condition resulting from touching something prohibited. The use of purgamina became a very important part of the ritual, while the taboos, which led to them, survived in comparatively few instances. "The purgamina had magic power to purify, not to cleanse physically or purge morally, but to rid of evil influences or ghostly infection." (Miss Harrison p. 27).

1. Water.

In the Roman religion as well as in others, the use of water as a purgamen grew naturally out of its use for physical cleansing. Edwin Clodd (Animism p. 82-84), quotes numerous examples to show that it has also been regarded as inhabited by spirits and hence a cure for disease. Granger (p. 121-122) regards Egeria, through whose advice the Ancilia was instituted, as a water spirit of the sacred well outside the Porta Capena. It is possible, but not certain, that water was regarded as purificative because beneficent spirits dwelt in it. (Compare the story of the purification of a murderer by a river god II 43-44). The water used was viva aqua, running water. The following are the instances of its use in rites of purification.

(a) The statue of the goddess Venus was bathed during her festival.

IV 156. tota lavenda dea est.

(b) The worshipper purified his person by water.

1. Sometimes he bathed in the water.

IV 139. vas quoque ... iubet ipsa lavari.

IV 778. vivo perlue rore manus.

V 435. manus puras fontana perluit unda.

V 441. rursus aquam tangit.

2. Sometimes the worshipper sprinkled himself with water from a laurel branch.

IV 728. udaeque roratas lamea misit aquas.

V 679. spargit et ipse suos lauro rorante capillos.

(c) The worshipper's possessions were sprinkled for the same purpose of purification.

IV 736. (oves) udae prius spargat.

V 676-677 ... sparguntur ab udae.

omnia quae dominus sunt habitura movos. This was a method of destroying the claim of the former owner of the goods.

VI. 157. spargit aquis aditus. The entrances through which evil spirits passed into the house were purified.

2. Fire is a second purifier universally used. R.P . Knight (Symbolical Language of Ancient Art pg. 166) gives the following interpretation of the use of fire and water: "The rite of ablution or baptism in fire and water seems to have been a mystic

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representation of the purification of the soul after death. The exile on his return and the bride went through the ceremony of touching them to signify their purification for a new life." (Compare *Aeneid* VI 741-742). The following are instances of the use of fire in purificatory rites.

IV 553-554. inque foco corpus pueri viventi favilla
obruit, humanum purget ut ignis onus.

IV 781-782, 727. transilui positas ter in ordine flammās.
This ceremony was performed at the Paralia. Andrew Lang (*Modern Mythology* ch. XII, and *Magic and Religion* ch. XV) gives parallel to this rite from religions widely separated in time and place. These are the only instances of fire used strictly as a purgamen, but it was also used to consume offerings (IV 639, II 578, IV 742, IV 701, 712), and torches were lighted at the Cerialia (IV 411. 493, 494) and at the Floralia (V 361-368.)

3. Sulphur and brimstone were regarded as powerful purgamina. The sheep were purified by them at the Parilia.

IV 739-740 caerulei fiant vivo de sulphure fumi
tactaque fumanti sulphure balet ovis.

Compare *Met.* VII 261. terque senem flamma, ter aqua, ter sulphure lustrat. As used by *Odysseus* (*Odyssey* XXII 481), they seem to have no magic property, but to be used as fumigants.

4. Possibly the act of sweeping was regarded as a purgamen.

There are two rather doubtful instances of it in the Fasti, during the Parilia and during the purification of the temple of Vesta.

IV 736. unda prius spargat, virgaque verrat humum.

VI 227-228. Donec ab Iliaca placidus purgamina Vesta
detulerit flavis in mare Thybris aquis.

It is natural to suppose that the temple was swept.

5. The thongs of goat-skin which the Luperci carried were februa. (II 425-443, V 102). They were instruments of purification since "they had power to free from hostile influences and quicken natural forces". (Fowles p. 220, 221.)

6. At the Parilia the people received februa of peculiar composition from the temple of Vesta. These februa were composed of bean straw (IV 734), the ashes of calves burned at the Fordicidia (IV 725, 639-640), and the blood of a horse sacrificed to Mars during the preceding October. (IV 733). The magic properties of beans have already been mentioned under the head of offerings. The significance of the last two ingredients as explained by Granger (p. 208-210) is that the ancients believed that the flesh and blood of certain animals had strengthening qualities.

7. Leaves and branches of certain trees were purgamina. Bouché-Leclercq (p. 111-112) explains the pontifical division of trees into felices and infelices according to two or three prin-

ciples; namely, traditions connecting trees with certain gods, and properties of the trees, such as color or manner of reproduction. The oak, laurel, olive, myrtle, and vine were felices because consecrated to the gods above. He quotes Macrobius and Pliny as authorities for saying that the black fig, the fern, the acrifolium, the wild-pear, the blackberry, briars, the black thorn, the poplar, the virga sanguinea, and some others were ill-omened, some because they bore no fruit, and others because their fruit or berries were black. The following were felices because they lacked those ill-omened qualities,- the pear, the white fig, the oak, the apple, the lotus, the beech, and others.

Probably the arbor pura whose branch is februa (II 25) was necessarily an arbor felix also. The following arbores felices are used in purificatory rites,- laurus (IV 728, 736, 738, V 677, 679) ~~the~~ myrtus (VI 155), olea (IV 743), spina alba (VI 165), and arbutus (VI 155), (Pliny XVI, 50). Herbae Sabinae (IV 741) was burned at the Paalia. Pliny (XXIV 61) states that it was used as incense and was probably burned for its fragrance also, rather than because it was felix. [cf. IV 411).

Branches and leaves were used in the following ways:

1. They were hung up over doors to keep out evil spirits.

- (a) The laurel is hung over the door of the sheep-fold

during the Parilia. (IV 737-738).

(b) A rod of white thorn was placed in the window to keep out striges. (VI 165).

2. They are burnt for incense. Their crackling was a good omen.

(a) Laurus.

IV 742. et crepet in mediis, laurus adusta focis.

(b) Olea

IV 741. ure manes oleas taedamque herbasque Sabinas.

(c) Taeda (IV 741).

(d) Herba Sabina (IV 741).

3. They are used to sprinkle water.

(a) Laurus IV 728-736; V 677, 679.

IV 728. virgaque roratas laurea misit aquas.

(b) Arbutus.

VI 155-157. ... ter arbutus limina fronde notat.

spargit aquis affitus. .. It is more likely that the touching the threshold with arbutus and the sprinkling with water were separate steps in the rite.

4. The worshippers of Venus Verticordia wore myrtle while they bathed. (IV 139) (Compare IV 656).

There are further instances of the use of branches in those purificatory rites which were a preparation for rites of

a different nature.

Of these purgamina the first four, water, fire, sulphur and the act of sweeping, seem to be developed from the use of the same means for physical cleansing. "Their influence on the whole seems to have been thought of as negative in character". (Granger p. 208). But the goat skin, the ashes of bean stalks and branches, seem to have more clearly magical properties. Granger believes that their purpose was "to renew life for the worshipper, his crops, and his cattle, and so to stay the continual waning of his, and their, life. The chief means by which this was attained lay in the flesh and blood of certain animals and certain men, or in the life of certain trees and herbs." (p.209) (Compare II 425-426)

.... non tu pollentibus herbis

nec prece nec magico carmine mater eris."

Since the worshipper must be ceremonially pure, the use of purgamina was preparatory to other ceremonies or the handling of sacred objects.

Water was the purgamen in commonest use.

(a) Sacra were washed in water.

III 11-12. Silvia Vestalis ...

sacra lavat~~as~~ mane petebat aquas.

IV 340. Almonis dominam sacraque lavit aquis.

(b) The worshipper's person was purified, especially his hands, which were most liable to touch a forbidden object.

IV 314-314. manibus puam fluminis hausit aquam

ter caput in~~for~~at, ter tollit in aethera palmas.

This ceremony is performed by Claudia before trying to move the sacred stone of Cybele.

VI 450. haurit aquas tolle^{about}nsque man~~us~~ -- Metellus is ~~about~~ to carry the sacra of Vesta from the burning temple.

IV 650 bis caput intonsum fontana spargitur unda.

Numa is about to learn the will of the gods through incubatio.

II 249-50 nequid pia sacra moretur

et tenuem vivis fontibus adfer aquam.

2. Branches were also used for general purificatory purposes.

(a) The worshipper was crowned with leaves.

IV 656. bis sua faginea tempora fronde premit. This is part of Numa's preparation for the incubatio.

(b) Myrtle was used as an offering at the Vénalia.

IV 869 cumque sua dominae date grata sesymbria myrto.

(c) On the Kalends of March, the original beginning of the year, the branches of laurel that had hung for a whole year over

the gate of the rex sacrorum and over the doors of the curia, and the laurel about the altar of Vesta were removed and fresh boughs put in their place. (III 135-142).

Like the Greek rites of purification described in Miss Harrison's *Prolegomena*, these Roman rites date from a very early period of the Roman religion. Indeed some of them had passed out of observance before the revival under Augustus, and some were fragmentary and obscure. Yet they evidently hold an important place in the religious ceremonies of the Romans. Judging from the *Fasti*, a great many of the most celebrated festivals were purificatory, and purification was also a preliminary to other religious acts. A conception so widely effective necessarily must have grown out of some fundamental idea of the Roman religion, which is apparently a belief in taboos, a belief common today in low stages of civilization. The idea of purification is so pervading that it is often difficult to deny that it was at least a partial cause of rites in which Ovid's account shows no clear sign of it. It seems likely that its place in Roman religion was even more important than

appears from the Fasti, and that a more careful and extensive study than I have been able to make might show that the worship of any god (excepting, perhaps, the dii novensides), and the performance of any religious ceremony might have been, partially at least, or originally, a rite of purification.

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E x c u r s u s

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Studies in Ovid's Vocabulary

Relating to Purificatory Rites.

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A. A study of adjectives meaning "pure", "holy", etc.

1. Purus describes the condition which is normal, free from physical blemishes, malign influences, or other sources of contamination. (Frank Granger, The Worship of the Romans. p. 139.)

In the Fasti it has the following uses:-

1. It describes things that are used to purify.

II. 25. ramo, qui caesus ab arbore pura.

IV. 314. et manibus puram fluminis hausit aquam.

Branches and water are common purificatory agents.

2. It describes the result of purification.

II. 33. placatis tempora pura sepulchris. This is a clear statement that the condition purus results from the removal of evil influences. Here the ghosts of ancestors are laid by the rites of the Feralia.

II. 508 puros dies. These follow the Feralia also.

III. 335. si tua contigimus manibus donaria puris.

Here Numa addresses Jupiter, to whom he has been performing rites that probably included the usual preliminary of washing the hands. Here, however, the meaning is probably extended to mean that his life as a whole was upright.

I 630 ne violent puros exanimata focos.

VI 234. pura Vesta nitebit humo. This is the result of the annual purification of the temple.

VI. 310. fert missos Vestae pura patella cibos.

3. Purus is apparently used proleptically in the following instances:

V 435. ... manus puras fontana perluit unda.

V 726. lustrantur purae tubae.

V 675-6. mercator ... purus ... hausit aquam. As the context shows, he is drawing the water for the purpose of purifying himself and his goods.

4. The adverb pure is used twice.

II 280. coepta sunt pure tradita sacra coli.

V 443-4 cum dixit novies "Manes exite paterni", respicit et pure sacra peracta putat.

The last reference is to the expulsion of ghosts at the Lemuria. Pure peracta will bear the interpretation "performed in a manner resulting in purification". This, however, is not possible in the other example. The meaning seems rather "handed down" (tradita), "or 'performed'(peracta) without error or omission in their original form." This is supported by Mr. Granger's interpretation of purus quoted above; that is, descriptive of the normal condition of things.

II. Castus is often rendered by the English word pure.

1. Castus describes virgins.

III 417. castae penetralia Vestrae.

IV 305-7, Claudia ... casta quidem, sed non et credita.

IV 321 casta negor. (In reference to Claudia)

IV 324, castas casta sequere manus (" " ")

IV 290, castas ad sua sacra manus (Vestal virginæs.)

2. Castus describes married people.

II 26 casta sacerdotum tempora.

I 587 castus sacerdos. The sacerdos in both examples is the Flamen Dialis, the husband of the Flaminica.

II 841, castam cruorem (of Lucretia).

II 139, castas esse maritas.

IV 313, castarum ab agmine matrum.

VI 802, Marcia casta.

IV 262, casta est accipienda manu. (either of married or unmarried.)

3. Castus is used of things associated with one who is castus.

III 689, ... a castis Vesta locuta focis.

II 173, castas pollue aquas. (of the bathing-place of Diana.)

IV 224, casto vinxit amore deam. (Cybele).

IV 442, parva bonae Cereri, sint modo casta, placent.

IV 725-6, certe ego de vitulo cinerem, stipulasque fabalis, saepe tuli plena, februa casta, manu (ab ara Vestae).

III. Pius is another adjective used to describe religious rites and the attitude of men towards the gods, and so needs

to be distinguished from purus.

1. It is used in connection with the gods but not in reference to rites of purification in the following:

I.722, utque domos, quae praestat eum, cum pace perennet, ad pia propensos vota rogate deos. The prayers of the citizen for the emperor are here called *pius*.

II.249, *pia sacra*, a rite performed by Apollo to his father Juppiter.

II.507, *pia turba*, the worshippers of Quirinus, the deified Romulus.

II.329, *repertori vitis pia sacra parabant* - rite to Bacchus.

III.336, *si pia lingua rogat*.

III.325-6 *scire nefas hominum, nobis concessa canentur quaeque pio dici vatis ab ore licet*. The charms by which Juppiter was brought down from heaven are not to be told by a poet who has the due awe and reverence for the gods.

III.601, *Pius Aeneas*, - a Virgilian echo.

IV.829, *quosque pium est adhibere deos*. This is said by Romulus in invocation of the gods at the founding of Rome.

VI.440, *mixta quae erat flammae flamma profana piae*. The *flamma pia* is the fire on Vesta's altar.

2. Pius is used of relations between men in the following examples:

(a) Child to parent.

V. 50, illa (Maiestas) patres in honore pio matresque tuetur.

V. 569, Cum pia sustulit arma. This is said of Augustus avenging the death of Caesar.

VI. 589-90. Quid ^{iv}hivat esse pare~~e~~, te nostrae caedi sororis Meque tui fratris, si pia vita placet. As the context shows, Tullia is urging her husband to murder her father, and the pia vita is a life guiltless of parricide.

VI. 739, Non impune pius iuvenis. (Hippolytus)

747, pio iuveni. (")

(b) Parent to child.

IV, 555-6, excutitur somno stulte pia mater, et amens Quid facis? exclamat membraque ab igne rapit. Ceres has placed the infant Triptolemus on the hearth to purify him from human weaknesses, but his mother, in alarm for his safety, snatches him away.

VI. 559, pro stirpe sua pia mater adoret.

The meanings of pius from these two groups of examples seem to be the following:.. "having due reverence or respect for the gods, or having due affection and respect for men." "Proper"

is too weak as a translation for "pium est adhibere deos", but in my opinion indicates underlying feeling in the word.

3. Pius is used in reference to rites of purification in a few instances, but not because of the purificatory nature of the rites.

II.546, ritus pios. This refers to the Feralia, a festival in honor of the dead ancestors. These rites are pius because the relation of parent to child is pius.

IV.724, prosequor officio si tua sacra pio. The festival in question is the Parilia. "Officio pio" seems to mean "with due reverence and zeal".

V.423, pia februa. The context shows that the reference is to the Feralia, which is disguised above.

4. Impius describes a condition which, in Ovid's opinion could not become purus.

II.38-46, ... illa (Graecia) nocentes.

impia lustratos ponere facta putat.

Several examples of purification from murder are cited from Greek mythology.

45-6, At minium faciler, qui tristis crimina caedis
fluminea tolli posse putatis aqua.

IV. Iustus.

I 252, iustⁱas reddere iura, - meaning law-abiding, almost.

III 710, ... ulcisci iusta per arma patrem. The just

arms are on the side of the law and government. This refers to Augustus as the avenger of Caesar.

V. 571, hinc stat^uti militi iusto. The reference is the same as in the last.

II. 544, iust^e Latine. Ovid is speaking of the establishment of the Feralia. The meaning is probably "rightly observant of their duty to the gods".

IV. 949-50, ... cognati Vesta recepta est.

limina, sic iusti constituere patres. This is like the preceeding.

IV. 324, haec iusti verba fuere senis. An old man had met Ceres wandering in search of her daughter and had offered her the hospitality of his home. The meaning of iustus here is probably "observant of the duty of hospitality." Compare "iustus coniunx", Philemon who entertained the gods Met. VIII 704.

V. 384, iustum senem.(Chiron)

V. 412, iustissime Chiron. These epithets seem to refer to nothing in the context, but to the general conception which the ancients had of Chiron's character.

V. 304, iustum praeterit (deum) modum. ("just.") ~~Hence~~
~~Hence~~ the meaning of iustus seems to be "observant of the laws of the state, or of the gods, or of society, or "just".

V. Sanctus.

Bouche Le Clercq (Les Pontifes de l'ancienne Rome. p.87.)

quotes Ulpian Dig. 1,8.9,3 "Dicⁱimus sancta quae neque sacra neque profana sunt, sed sanctione quadam confirmata, ut leges sanctae sunt, sanctione enim quadam subⁿixae". "Quod enim sanctione quadam subⁿixum est, id sanctum est, etsi deo non sit consecratum." Hence sanctum is used of things venerable in themselves, whether dedicated to the gods or not.

I.609-10, sancta vocant angusta patres, angusta vocantur templa sacerdotum rite dicata maum.

II.658, sanctus Terminus.

III.397, coniunx apicati sancta Dialis.(Some editors read "cincta".)

III.427, quos sancta fovet ille (Augustus) manu. Augustus is here considered as a god.

IV.296, quaque colunt sanctos virginitate focos. (Vestae).

IV.439, ... sancti scelerat^s ignibus ignes. This refers to the fire on Vesta's altar.

II.63, templorum sancte repostor. (Augustus)

VI. Sacer.

Macrobius gives these definitions of sacer,-- "sacrum est quicquid est quod deorum habetur". (III 3,2) "Quicquid destinatum est dis, sacrum vocatur." (III 7,3) F. Granger, ("The Worship of the Romans viewed in relation to the Roman temperament. p. 215), quoting Gaius II,4, who, however, is considering merely the legal use of the word, says that res sacrae were

consecrated to the gods above.

III.264, est lacus, antiqua religione sacer.

III.734, sacris pars datur inde focis.

IV.285, Veneris sacra Cytherea petit.

IV.476, sacrarumque Melan pascua laeta boum.

IV.650, Silva ... stabat, Maenalia sacra relictia deo.

IV.749, sive sacris pavi sedive sub arbore sacra.

VI.5-6, ... est deus in nobis.

impetus hic sacrae semina mentis habet.

VI.62, Praenestinae moenia sacra deae.

VI.223, sacras idus.

VI.385, Juppiter et sacro, quid velit, ore docet.

VI.455, Nunc bene lucetis sacrae sub Caesare flammae.

VI.810, ... O, sacra femina digna domo (Caesaris).

One substantive use of sacer properly belongs here, namely the use of the neuter plural to mean sacred objects, symbols, or statues of the gods, or objects used in their worship.

IV.38, (Aeneas) sacra patremque ~~num~~eris, altera sacra tulit.

III.12, sacra lavaturas mane petebat aquas.

IV.340, sacraque lavit aquis.

V.536, Aenean, oneratum pondere sacro. Here sacro evidently equals sacrorum by comparison with IV.38 quoted above.

VI.450, Ignoscite, sacra. These words were spoken by

Metellus when he was about to carry the sacred fire of Vesta from the burning temple. There was no statue of the goddess in the temple, only the flame, which was sometimes regarded as the goddess herself and sometimes as her symbol.

VI.295, Esse diu stultus Vestae simulacra putavi.

291, Nec te aliud Vestam quam vivam intellege flammam.

Sacratus.

I.640, ... te sacratae constituere manus (of the emperor Tiberius.)

III.429, sacrata templa.

IV.375-6 ... Quondam sacrata est colle Quirini

hac Fortuna die Publica. This refers to the dedication of the temple of Fortune.

VI.201-2, hac sacrata die Tusco Bellona duello

dicitur . Another dedication of a temple.

II.60, ... sacrati provida cura ducis (Augusti.)

Sacratus appears from the above examples to describe things which are made sacer, as a dedicated temple, or a man set apart for the office of emperor.

So of the group of words whose meanings touch each other at some points, - purus, castus, pius, iustus, sanctus, sacer (sacratus), - only purus has more than an occasional connection with rites of purification.

B. A study of words meaning religious ceremony or festival.

Ovid uses a number of words meaning festival, ceremony, or rite. In the following discussion an attempt will be made to bring out what^{are} the chief distinctions that Ovid makes in their meaning, with the purpose of finding out which, if any, are especially applied to rites of purification. The words of this group are *sacra*, *festas*, *ritus*, and *iusta*.

I. *Sacra*.

1. *Sacra*, in its broad meaning of "belonging to or dedicated to the gods" (compare *sacer* above), could be applied to all regularly established religious festivals. It is used of them collectively in the following passages:

I.7, *sacra* recognosces annalibus eruta priscis.

14, et quoscumque *sacris* addidit ille dies.

333, rex *sacrorum*.

530, et fient ipso *sacra* colente deo.

II.9, idem *sacra* cano signataque tempora fastis.

II.50, tu quoque *sacrorum*, ~~ter~~mine, fines eras.

III.280, coepta sunt pure tradita *sacra* coli.

IV.84, non tibi sunt maesta *sacra* canenda lyra.

V.99-100, *sacra*que multa quidem, sed Fauni prima bi-
con^rzus has docuit gentes alipedisque dei.

VI.8, *sacra* cano.

2. In the following passages *sacra* refers to rites which there is evidence to believe that Ovid regarded as purificatory.

I.465, unde petam causas horum moresque sacrorum (Carmentalia.)

I.617, Parrhasiae sacra relata deae. (Carmentalia)

I.627, binaque nunc pariter Tegeaeae sacra parenti. (Carmentalia.)

I.660, non stata sacra. (Sementiva)

II.269, sacrorum quae sit origo. (Lupercalia)

II.358, ad sua sacra. (")

II.528, nec stata sacra. (Fornacalia.)

II.572, sacra facit Tacitae.

III.809 fiunt sacra Minervae. (Quinquatrus.)

IV.494, Cereris sacris nunc quoque taeda datur. (Cerialia)

IV.630, ... fœda sacra litate bove. (Fordicidia)

IV.666, det sacris animas una iuvenca duas. (")

IV.722, pastoria sacra canenti. (Parilia)

IV.937, Cur detur sacris nova victina ... (Robigalia)

IV.947, sacrum Florale.

IV.352, vult sua plebeis sacra patere choro. (Floralia)

V.421, veteris, nocturna Lemuria, sacri. (Lemuria)

V.444, ... pure sacra peracta putat. (")

VI.106, pontifices illuc nunc quoque sacra ferunt. (rites to Carⁿna.)

VI.164, quique adsit sacris (the rite performed by Carⁿa against the striges).

VI.314, Formacali sunt sua sacra dea. (Formacalia)

VI.511, sacri cognoscere ritum. (Greek rites in honor of Bacchus.)

3. Sacra applied to rites which Ovid (a) does not apparently consider purificatory, or (b) merely names without describing them.

(a)

II.512, et referunt certi sacra paterna dies. (Quirinalia)

VI.250, ad tua si nobis sacra venire licet. (Vestalia)

VI.290, admittit castas ad sua sacra manus. (")

VI.479, hac ibi luce ferunt Matutae sacra parenti. (Matralia.)

(b)

V.728, vel mos sacrorum vel fuga regis inest. (Regifugium)

VI.307, cum fiunt antiquae sacra Vacunae.

VI.629, sacris de more peractis.

III.200, dum sua sacra canes.

(c) There are two instances of pia sacra which are not described. In the first, however, purification by water is part of the rite.

II.247-9, Iovi Phoebus festum sollemne parabat.

.... ne quid pia sacra moretur.

III.329, repertori vitis pia sacra.

Since the adjective sacer is not connected with rites of



purification and since sacra is used frequently to designate all the festivals collectively, it seems that sacra has no connotation of purificatory rites, in spite of the great number of instances in which it is applied to them.

II Festa.

1. Festa sometimes means a rite of purification.

I. 669, pagus agat festum. (Sementiva)

II. 513, festa stultorum. (Fornacalia.)

IV. 724, prosequor officio si tua festa pio. (Parilia)

V. 491, tria festa. (Lemuria.)

V. 328, annua festa. (Floralia)

2. Festa is applied to rites not purificatory.

I. 9, festa domestica.

80, festo suo concolor populus est. (Kalends of January)

190, de festo pars ne labet ulla. (Agonia)

325, hoc festum priscis Agnalia dictum. (Agonia)

393, festa corymbiferi celebrabas Bacchi.

II. 247, forte Iovi Phoebus festum sollemne parabat. Later in the passage sacra is used to refer to the rites which Phoebus was performing, as though there was a difference of meaning.

III. 170, ... matronae cur tua festa colant. (Kalends of March)

III. 182, Idaeae festa parentis erunt. (festival of Cybele.)

199, festa para ~~Go~~so. (Consualia.)

523, Annae festum geniale Perennae.

714, festa cano.

IV. 877, Veneri^s festum Vinalia dicant.

V. 297, festis gaudemus (dii).

V. 670, haec tibi festa dies. (festival of Mercury)

VI. 24, condere festa. (used collectively)

179, caesa sue festa colebant.

191, lux eadem Marti festa est.

239, festa dies illis qui lina madentis ducunt.

320, ad sua festa. (festival of Cybele.)

395, festis Vestalibus.

464, nec populum toto pectore festa iuvant.

476, vestrum Matralia festum.

535, festis Matralibus.

695, Martius, inquit, agit tali mea nomine festa. (Quinquatrus.) In two instances festa is used by some editors where facta seems the better reading in view of the context.

III. 262, ad tua festa (facta) veni.

III. 200, illo festa (facta) die dum sua sacra canes.

Festa seems to be used of all kinds of festivals, for example I. 9; V 297; VI 24; It seems to refer to the day set apart for the ceremony, as (V. 491) tria festa; (V. 328) annua festa, of the phrase (V. 670) festa dies. The idea of time appears in the following:

VI.395, forte revertēbar festis Vestalibus.

VI.533, ... liba iuvant festis Matralibus illam. In our words festival and fiesta the idea of holiday is similarly prominent.

III. Ritus.

I.631, si quis amas veteres ritus, adsiste precanti.

nomina percipies non tibi nota plus. (Carmentalia.)

II.546, huic (from Aenāes) populi ritus edidicere pios.
(Feralia.)

III.291, sed poterunt ritum Picus Faunusque piandi tradere.

IV.409, protinus accessi, ritus ne nescius essem. (Robigalia.)

V.421, ritus erit veteris, nocturna Lemuria, sacri. (Lemuria.)

V.431, veteris ritus. (")

VI.511, sacri cognoscere ritum. (A Greek rite in honor of Bacchus.)

V.636, principium ritus tu bene nosce potes (sacrifice of the Argei) The meaning of ritus is more clearly defined by Ovid that that of sacra or festa. In every instance it means the ritual or manner of performing the ceremony. The combination ritus sacri (V.421; VI.511) shows that a distinction between the worship and the ritual is intended. The word is used in reference to rites of purification except in the last two examples. The rites to Bacchus, which Ovid does not describe, were probably purificatory. The sacrifice of the Argei is generally considered a rite of purification, although there is great difference of opinion as to its

exact significance and origin. Compare the following passages from Ovid's other works:

Am. III. 13, 5. *Morae pretium ritus cognoscere.*

Met. X. 398 *sive aliquis nocuit, magico lustrabere ritu.*
also Met. XV, 483; II. Art. 601; III. Ex. P. 2; 79.

2. This interpretation of *ritus* is sustained by the use of the ablative *ritu* in the following passages from Ovid's other works. Here the meaning has become "in the manner of", or, as in the last example, "like".

M. VII. 258-9. *passis Medea capillis*

Bacchantum ritu flagrant circuit aras.

I. Ex. P. IX 35. *nam tua alio coluit penetralia ritu*

M. I. 695, *ritu quoque cincta Dianae.*

I Am. VII 43, *si tumidi ritu torrentis agebar.*

also M. VI. 591; IX. 89; X. 536; XV. 222.

3. Rite from the following examples has the meaning "with the established or proper ceremonies".

I. 610, *templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu.*

IV 153, *rite deam Latiae colitis.*

V. 90, *Arcades hunc rite colunt.*

V. 595. *Rite des templumque datum mومنque bis ulta.*

IV. IV. Iusta are funeral rites or ceremonies in honor of the dead. The connection between *iusta* and the adjective *iustus* (discussed before) is evidently that the Romans regarded honors to

the dead as something to which they had just claim.

II.569, quia iusta ferunt dixere feralia lucem. The rites of the Feralia were performed at the tombs ~~in~~ honor of dead ancestors.

III.560, germanae iusta dat ante suae. The reference is to the rites which Anna paid at Dido's tomb before she left Carthage.

V.452, veloci iusta soluta Remo. This reference is to the funeral itself.

V.480, quae positis iusta feruntur avis.

VI.491-2 maesta, Learchaeas mater tumulaverat umbras
et dederat miseris omnia iusta rogis.

Again the reference is to a funeral.

C. A study of words applied to substances supposed to have purificatory power.

The following compose a group of technical words meaning purifying substance: purgamen, februs, piamen and suffimen.

I. Purgamen.

II.23-4, quaeque capit lictor domibus purgamina versis
torrida cum mica farre vocantur idem. (februa)

II.35-6 omne nefas omnemque mali purgamina causam
credebant nostri tollere posse senes.

VI.225-6, donec ab Iliaca placidus purgamina Vesta

detulerit flavis in mare Thybris aquis.

VI. 713, purgamina Vesta.

Met. XI 409-10, ... Magnetes adit vagus exsul, et illic
sumit ab Haemonio purgamina caedis Acasto.

The meaning in the first two instances and the last is something that purifies or cleanses, and is a synonym of februa. In the other two instances, which are really but one, the meaning is "cleansings", refuse whose removal left the temple purus. VI. 234.

II. Februa.

II. 19, februa Romani dixere piamina patres.

II. 23-4, quoted above, -- synonymous with purgamen.

II. 21-2, ... lanas,

quis veterum lingua februa nomen erat.

II. 27-8, ipse ego flaminicam poscentem februa vidi.

februa poscenti pinea virga data est.

IV. 725-6, certe ego de vitulo cinerem stipulosque fabalis.

saepe tuli plena, februa casta, manu.

V. 423 Annus erat brevior, nec adhuc pia februa norant.

cf. 421-428.

Februa is a synonym of piamina and purgamina, cf. examples 1 and 2 above. In the last example, the context indicates that februa is used with an extension of meaning as "rites of purification", referring to the Feralia, for the general topic is rites in honor of the dead, and the adjective pia is used.

III. Piamen.

II.14, synonymous with februa.

II.31-2, . . . secta quia pella Luperci
omne solum lustrant, idque piamen habent.

III.333-4, ... da certa piamina, dixit, fulminis.

IV. Suffimen.

IV 733, sanguis equi suffimen erit vitulique favilla,
tertia res durae culmen inane fabae.

The same things are called februa in 725-6 quoted above.
The word is etymologically connected with suffio, meaning to fumigate (Harper's), and so ought to mean something which was burnt, but Ovid gives no information on this point. Purgamina, februa and piamina seem to be used interchangeably, while suffimen has a narrower meaning.

D. A study of verbs meaning to propitiate, purify, worship.

I. Purgo.

IV. 554, humanum purget ut ignis onus.

IV. 640, populus purget ut ille cinis.

IV.785-6, ... omnia purgat edax ignis.

..... cum duce purgat ovis.

I Ex. P. 8, 59, purgare ligonibus herbas.

It. 452 (450) corpora projecta quae sua purgat aqua.

IV Ex. P. 3.53, purgantes pectora sucos -- the effect of

hellebore, which was supposed to cure madness.

M. 13. 952, carmine purgante nefas (Glauci).

III Ex. P. 2.24, purgari factum me teste. The context shows that the meaning is "excusable" or "blameless". Purgare means to cleanse or make purus by removing impurities, sickness, guilt, or evil influences which might cause them. It is not limited to cleaning by religious rites. (cf. examples six and eight.) That purgare is to effect a return to the normal condition is well shown by the sixth example, where purgare means to cure insanity. With IV. 554 may be compared Aeneid VI. 745-7.

donec longa dies, perfecto temporis orbe,
concretam exemit labem, purumque relinquit
aetherium sensum atque auri simplicis ignem.

Here the spirit entirely freed from traces of its human body is called purus. These uses bear out the probable derivation of purgo from purum ago, and show its natural application to rites of purification.

2. Lustrum.

1. To purify by a religious rite.

I. 669, pagum lustrate ... et date annua liba.

II. 31-2 secta quia pelle Luperci

omne solum lustrant, idque piamen habent.

II. 38, ... illa (Graecia) nocentes

impia lustratos ponere facta putat.

IV.735, oves ... saturas lustra.

V.101-2, Lupercis cum lustrant celebres vellera secta
vias.

V.726, lustrantur purae tubae.

M.IV.480, Iuno is purified with water before entering
heaven after a visit to Hades.

M.VII.261, senem ter flamina, ter aqua, ter sulphure
lustrat.

M.X.398, sive aliquis nocuit, magico lustrabere ritu.

M.XIV.597-605. 605, lustratum corpus. (The body of
Aeneas is washed after death).

2. To wander or encircle.

IV.480, Peloriadem ... lustrarat.

M.I.479, nemorum avia lustrat.

IV.TI 78, moenia lustrat.

MV.464, ... omnia eundo.

Lustrare is a synonym of purgare, because its result is purae
res.(V.726). The following explanation is from Harper's: "to
purify by means of a propitiatory offering. Transferred, be-
cause at the lustral sacrifice the priest went around the per-
son or thing purified, to encircle or wander over". (cf. exam-
ples under 2.) As Ovid uses the word, the meaning of purificatory
offering must be extended to include acts of devotion, as the

running of the priests in the second and fifth examples, and the use of various purgamina, as water, fire, branches, in the third, fourth, and sixth examples and in the passages from the Metamorphoses.

3. Lavo.

1. To wash.

II.167, in silva lavemur.

IV.768, quaque lavent artus.

II.Ep. 90, membra fessa (lavare).

MXII 415, fontibus ora lavet.

MXI 116, palmas laverat undis.

2. To wash as a religious ceremony.

III.12, sacra lavat^{ur}mas aquas.

IV.340, dominam (Cybelen) sacraque lavit aquis.

IV.136, tota lavanda dea est.

IV.139, vos quoque ... iubet ipsa laveri.

Lavare means to wash either in an ordinary or in a ceremonial manner. It is not a ritualistic word. It is narrower than purgare, meaning to purify^{by} washing only.

4. Libo.

1. I 588, seminaris flammis viscera libat ovis.

2. I.647, triumphatae libasti munera genti.

3. I.389, exta canum Triviae.

4. II.633, libate dapes.
5. II.653, libantur singula flammis (grain, honey, wine)
6. III.562, vertice libatas.
7. V.627, libata duo corpore seni Falcifero.
8. VI.163, sic ubi libavit (exta de porca)
9. IX.653, summam celeri pede libat harenam.
10. Art.I 577, cibum digitis libaverit illa.
11. IEx. P. IX. 41, Iure igitur lacrimas Celso libamus
adempto.

The general meaning of libare is to take a little of something, as in the fourth, fifth, ninth, and tenth examples. It was applied to animals that were sacrificed because only part was offered, as in the first, third, and eighth examples, and hence to offering in general, as in the second, seventh, and eleventh instances.

5. Quinquare.

This word is not found in Ovid, but the festival of Minerva called the Quinquatrus is said to be derived from it. "Quinquatrus a quinquando, id est lustrando". Charis. p. 62, P.dub. (Harper's). G. F. Unger (Les Lupercales. Rheinisches Museum 36. 1881.), thinks that the priests called Quinctilii were chosen for that office because of the omen in the similarity of their names and quinquare.

6. Februare.

Like quinquare, this word does not occur in Ovid. Februa and Februarius are connected with it, and, as Unger thinks, the name of the Fabii, colleagues of the Quinctilii.

7. Luo.

IV. 711, utque luat poenas, gens haec Cerialibur ardet.

IV.322, morte luam poenas indice victa dea.

IV.809, iam luerat poenas frater Munitoris.

V.681, ablue praeteriti periuria temporis.

MIII.325, exilium dñā poenam pro caede luebat.

MVIII.689, luet vicinia poenas impia.

Ibis. 622 (619-620) poenas pro crimine nefas morte luas.

Tr. II.107, scilicet in superis etiam fortuna luenda est.

(as though it were a crime.)

From these examples luo is evidently used of paying the penalty for serious crime, not mere transgressions of ritual. The purpose is not to purify the guilty but to satisfy justice.

8. Facere sacra.

I.530, fient ipso sacra colente dño.

III.850, et forti sacrificare deae.

IV.414, ignavam sacrificare suam.

I.627, bina sacra Tegaeae parenti fieri.

Sacra facere is oftenest, but not necessarily, used in refer-

ence to rites of purification. Compare sacra, where other examples of sacra facere are given.

9. Precari.

This word is used of the prayers uttered at nearly every service, whether purificatory or not. It seems unnecessary to list examples.

10. Piare.

1. Piare is used in reference to rites of propitiation or purification.

II.29, quo corpora nostra piantur, hoc nomen habebat (februa).

III.289, piabile fulmen est. ... saevi flectitur ira Iovis.

III.291, sed poterunt ritum Picus Fa^ulnus que piandi tradere.

III.311, quoque modo possit fulmen monstrari piari.

V.426, nepos busta piabat avi.

2. Apparently piare is not used in reference to propitiating an angry god in the following:

I.318, Iam is piandus erit.

Piare as distinguished from purgare or lustrare, applies especially to appeasing angry gods. Perhaps the worship of Janus too should be included among purificatory rites, but this is a matter of doubt, as far as Ovid's account goes.

11. Placare.

1. To purify or propitiate.

I.663, *Porrina placatur.*

I.671, *placentur frugum matres, Tellusque Ceresque.*

II.33, *placatis sunt tempora pura sepulchris.*

II.533, *animas placari paternas.*

II.570, *placandis manibus.*

IV.155, *supplicibus verbis illam (Venerem) placate.*

IV.665 *Tellus placanda.*

IV.777, *His dea placanda est.*

IV.759, *tu fontes placa.*

VI.761, *placare parenti.* (This refers to the anger of Apollo at the murder of Aesculapius.)

2. To worship a god who is not apparently malignant or angered.

I.333-334, *rex placare sacrorum numina.* (Ianus.)

III.789, *placataque cornua vertar.* (Bacchus).

III.816, *qui bene placarit Pallada, doctus erit.*

III.817, *Pallada placata.*

II.507, *placent novum Quirinum.*

I.171, *quemvis aliorum numina placem.*

The number of examples where the meaning is clearly to purify or propitiate is larger than the number where the

meaning is in doubt. The condition purus is the result of placare as it is of purgare. (II 33.) Like piare, placare directs the attention to the god who is worshipped, while purgare and lustrare direct the attention to the thing purified. It seems to be a weaker word than piare and readily passes over into the idea of reconciling or pleasing, so that placatus comes to mean pleased or benign. This fact and Ovid's lack of scientific exactness probably account for the exceptions under the second head.

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or in part.)

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